

Jack Anderson

The Washington Merry-Go-Round**Peace Prospects**

We reported on Oct. 24 that President Nixon, contrary to what the newspapers were saying, preferred to hold off a Vietnam cease-fire until after the election. "Politically speaking," we wrote, "the President believes it is better to keep the settlement terms vague until after the election."

He, therefore, deliberately sought to extend the secret negotiations past election day to prevent Hanoi from exploiting an election-eve cease-fire and to avoid charges that he rushed into an unsafe settlement for political purposes.

The President, however, is now optimistic that he can get a cease-fire on terms which will leave South Vietnam reasonably safe from a Communist takeover. His optimism is based on intelligence reports which depict Hanoi as being under intense diplomatic and military pressure.

Both Moscow and Peking are reported to be pressing the North Vietnamese to end the war. This has been accompanied, according to the intelligence reports, by a slight but significant slowdown in military support. At the same time, Hanoi is beginning to feel the pinch from the U.S. blockade of North Vietnamese ports and bombing of the supply lines.

Perhaps even more significant, the intelligence reports claim that North Vietnam's military leaders have been jolted by the failure of their spring offensive to reach its objectives. The South Vietnamese army was not the pushover that Hanoi expected. The leaders also miscalculated the ferocity of the U.S. air and naval assault which has been more punishing than the firepower President Lyndon Johnson turned against them.

In the past, the intelligence reports misled Johnson to predict privately that the war would be over in 1967. But the military reporting and intelligence techniques have improved. President Nixon has faith that this time the reports are right.

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

Columnists Bore Gifts to Greeks

By Jack Anderson

The Greek dictatorship has sponsored a luxury tour for some of America's best-read conservative columnists. In some cases, their wives also made the trip.

Not surprisingly, the red-carpet trip produced a gush of pro-junta columns in the nation's press. Readers, however, didn't know that the tour was financed, at \$2,000 a head, by the government-controlled Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, whose urbane governor, Paul Totomis, once rounded up thousands of innocent Greeks in concentration camps.

Totomis was the Junta's Minister of Public Order for six months after the 1967 coup. This charming Athenian man-about-town put up the columnists at the plush King George Hotel, arranged for their first class travel and picked up their bills for fine wines and Greek foods.

The suave Totomis and his bosses would have gotten their money's worth out of the junket if the only man on it had been Ralph de Toledano, who distributes his conservative views to 100 papers. "For the first time in its 150 years of independence," wrote de Toledano, "Greece is prospering and the people satisfied."

But de Toledano had another gift for the Greeks. When Totomis' bank sponsored a pavilion at the Greek-American

AHEPA conference in Atlanta, deToledano wrote Vice President Spiro Agnew on Totomis' behalf. The Vice President did not know Totomis, but took de Toledano's word for the Greek's good works.

In a personal letter, Agnew — without ever seeing the bank's pavillion — lauded Totomis' contribution to Greek-American amity. The letter has been proudly publicized by Totomis.

The dictatorship reaped further benefits from columnist James J. Kilpatrick, who praised the way things are going under the military regime. The capable, sometimes caustic Kilpatrick failed to tell his millions of readers that the bank had picked up his tab when he singled out the bank for praise.

"The more the present government succeeds in promoting industrial growth around the country, the more secure that government becomes. Through . . . such energetic outfits as the Hellenic Industrial Development Bank, the government is doing just that," wrote Kilpatrick.

Other kind words were written by junketeering columnists Anthony Harrigan, who doubles as executive vice president of the Southern States Industrial Council; former National Press Club President Allan Cromley, Daily Oklahoman bureau chief in Washington; Robert Baskin, Dallas Morning News political writer,

and Oscar Naumann, Journal of Commerce economic writer.

While most of the copy written by the subsidized tourists is favorable to the junta, Cromley and Naumann did take a few honest bites at the dictatorship. Cromley wrote candidly: "The fact is that the present government is a form of dictatorship which exercises sporadic censorship of the press and exists without periodic consent of the government." Naumann criticized the Greek steel industry.

When we questioned the columnists about their week of junketing, the reaction was mixed. De Toledano said: "I'll stick by my friendship with Paul Totomis. I think he's doing a helluva job there." The facile de Toledano said he had even helped out Totomis with a little unpaid public relations work.

Kilpatrick called it a "routine industrial tour," and said he had been led to believe the Greek government had not picked up the tab. Baskin, Cromley and Naumann also spoke frankly with us.

Only Harrigan, who finds even President Nixon's politics too far left for him from time to time, refused to discuss the junket.

We reached Totomis by overseas telephone at his bank in Athens. For 45 minutes he vigorously defended himself. There was nothing wrong with the tour, he said. As for his roundup of Greeks in 1967, he said there had been no com-

plaints from the detainees. In any case, he said he was merely carrying out orders from higher up. "I have lived my entire life in honor," he said.

Footnote: Among other junketeers were travel writer Theo McCormick and U.S. Steel public relations man Tom Geoghegan. One of those invited by Totomis, AP economic writer Sterling Green, turned down the junket because free trips are against AP policy.

Intelligence Reports

Anti-CIA Campaign — The Soviets, apparently, have launched a world-wide campaign to discredit the Central Intelligence Agency. Particularly in Asia, Soviet propaganda blames the CIA for everything from conspiring against President Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines to stirring up ill will between India and Bangladesh.

Mao's Successor — Intelligence reports say China's Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai have discussed how to prepare the Chinese public for the inevitable demise of the revered Mao. The attempt to build up Lin Biao as a successor led to an abortive coup when he got in too big a hurry to take over. Mao is said to recognize, however, that he cannot live much longer and that a successor must be groomed who can hold China together.

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The Jack Anderson Awards

for Effectiveness, Ineffectiveness, Guts, Brains, Lechery, Laziness, and More

By Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

Back in the sixties, a civil-rights mule train—symbol of how far the plodding poor are from the Mercedes rich—arrived at a chic evening fundraiser in Washington. The hostess, dressed in her Pucci garden-party clothes, delicately led the mules by a bridle up her long circular driveway for the benefit of the TV cameras.

As the cameras ground, the TV men called at her to say something to the young mule driver who had helped bring the wagon train all the way up from some southern farm and had been deputized to clean up her driveway after the mules. The lady turned her most radiant smile upon the mule skinner and said in Radcliffe accents: "Aren't these mules just wonderful, so patient and wise?"

The young man looked back at the roadway where the mules had laid out his work for the evening. "Well lady," he drawled, "that depends on which end of the mule you have to deal with."

So it is with Members of Congress.

When Senator John Stennis rams through a bill aiding children who lost their special schooling because their servicemen fathers died in Vietnam, then Stennis is courtly, sage, and effective. When he uses the same legislative skills to defeat a civil-rights bill, then he is a wool-hatted red neck.

When the late Senator Tom Dodd was racked by the Senate for pocketing his campaign funds, then he was a rogue. A few months later, we watched him presiding over tedious hearings on gun controls and drug abuse. Deserted by other committee members who didn't want to be seen on TV with him, the lonesome Dodd plugged on. There was a sort of splendor about him then.

There is a temptation, nonetheless, to deal with Congressmen by categories. The gin-rummy geniuses of the Senate Press Gallery tend to divide Congress into neat opposing armies of Southern Democrats-Conservative Republicans vs. Northern Democrats-Moderate Republicans. But where does this put former Senator John Williams, a down-on-the-farm conservative who investigated federal farm giveaways?

Economists see Congress as blocs supporting Big Business, Big Labor, Big Agriculture, Big Oil, and the like. But how do you classify such economic mavericks as Representative H. R. Gross or Senator Phil Hart?

Consumer advocates categorize Congress as pro- or anti-

consumer. But what about such Jekyll-Hydes as Senator Vance Hartke, who sponsors legislation to goldplate railroads even as he smashes Detroit's wraparound fenders?

The Americans for Democratic Action and the Americans for Constitutional Action use specific votes to evaluate the worth of Congressmen, often coming up with opposite conclusions on the same men.

The classifiers of Congressmen are legion. For our part, we have come to suspect that our mule-headed, mule-ended, ever-fascinating Congress defies categorization. But when the *Washingtonian* asked us to classify Congressmen for their anniversary issue, we hesitated only a moment.

We have consulted our files (published and unpublished), reviewed our personal experiences, and relied heavily upon our gut reactions. We have sought the opinions, too, of a wide range of Capitol Hill observers.

We are aware, of course, that our national legislators often achieve prominence by speechmaking and publicity. On Capitol Hill, there is little correlation between power and publicity. Congressional authority, as Woodrow Wilson put it half-a-century ago, "is perplexingly subdivided and distributed, and responsibility has to be hunted down in out-of-the-way corners."

For instance, Senator James Eastland, a bourbon-and-branch-water Southerner opposed to social change and virtually every other manifestation of the twentieth century except federal subsidies to cotton farmers, is almost unknown outside of Washington and Mississippi. But few men in Washington wield as much weight.

We have sought, in our own irreverent way, to classify the backroom boys as well as the frontroom performers. We discovered that some Congressmen are anonymous even to us. We set up a special category for the more outstanding nonentities, but many we simply ignored.

A word, too, about degree. Obviously, some senior Senators fortunate enough to be listed as "Dirty Old Men" are not at the peak of their pursuit. One such glorious has-been has slowed to an occasional posterior pat. The same distinctions of degree apply to many of our other categories.

For those Congressmen who feel we haven't treated them with the proper dignity, we offer no apologies. We have always regarded it a function of journalism to prick the ponipous, to deflate the windbags, and to humble the powerful.

And Now...

... the Envelopes, Please

Gold Carrot and Stick Awards *Most Effective of All*

Warren Magnuson
Wilbur Mills
Hugh Scott

Home Run Hitters—White Sox *Effective Good Men and Ms.*

John Blatnik
Phil Burton
Frank Church
John Dingell
Bob Eckhardt
Don Fraser
Bill Green
Phil Hart
Fritz Hollings
Mike Mansfield
Abner Mikva
John Moss
Wright Patman
William Proxmire
Henry Reuss
Benjamin Rosenthal
Leonore Sullivan
Morris Udall
Jerome Waldie

Strikeout Kings—White Sox *Ineffective Good Men and Ms.*

John Brademas
Quentin Burdick
Clifford Case
Shirley Chisholm
James Corman
Martha Griffiths
Torbert Macdonald
Claiborne Pell
Don Riegle
William Steiger
Harrison Williams
Sidney Yates

Home Run Hitters—Black Sox *Effective Bad Men*

Gordon Allott
Wayne Aspinall
Frank Bow
William Brock
Joel Broyhill
William Colmer
John Erlenborn
Robert Griffin
F. Edward Hébert
Chet Holifield
John McClellan
John McMillan
John Rooney
Fletcher Thompson
Joe Waggonner
Jamie Whitten
Bob Wilson

Strikeout Kings—Black Sox *Ineffective Bad Men and Ms.*

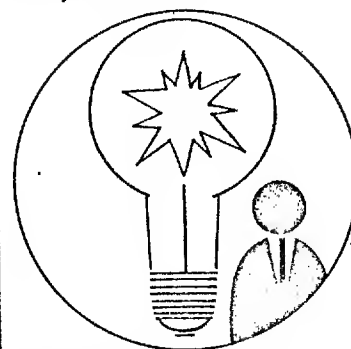
Harry Byrd, Jr.
Bob Dole
William Jennings Bryan Dorn
Ed Gurney
Clifford Hansen
Louise Hicks
Roman Hruska
Richard Ichord
John Jarman
B. Everett Jordan
John Kluczynski
James McClure
Alvin O'Konski
William Randall
John Schmitz
John Tower
Strom Thurmond

Home Run Hitters—Grey Sox *Effective for Good and Bad*

Hale Boggs
Robert Byrd
Emanuel Celler
Edith Green
Dan Inouye
Henry Jackson
George Mahon
John Sparkman
John Stennis
Olin Teague

Low Wattage

J. Glenn Beall
Alphonzo Bell
Harry Byrd, Jr.
James Byrne
Carl Curtis
Paul Fannin
Joseph Gaydos
Barry Goldwater, Sr.
Barry Goldwater, Jr.
Edward Gurney
Roman Hruska
James Kee
Hastings Keith
Delbert Latta
Robert Mathias
Joseph Montoya
Harrison Williams
Larry Winn



High Wattage *The High IQs*

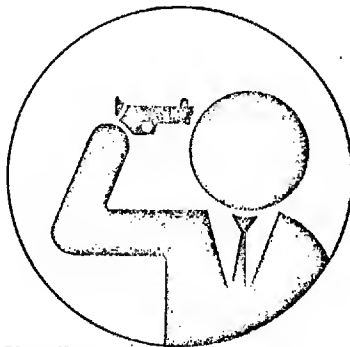
John Brademas
Jack Brooks
Phil Crane
J. William Fulbright
Jacob Javits
Pete McCloskey
Walter Mondale
William Proxmire
Ogden Reid
Paul Sarbanes
Tom Steed
Adlai Stevenson, III
Herman Talmadge
Fletcher Thompson
Frank Thompson

Old Massas
The Confederacy Lives On

Harry Byrd, Jr.
James Eastland
W. R. Poage
Herman Talmadge
Jamie Whitten

The New South
Dixie's Liberals

Bill Alexander
Patrick Caffery
Lawton Chiles
Bob Eckhardt
Fritz Hollings
Claude Pepper
Richardson Preyer
David Pryor



Kamikazes
*They'd Rather Go Down in Flames
Than Compromise and Win*

Bella Abzug
John Ashbrook
Shirley Chisholm
Ron Dellums
Robert Drinan
Mike Gravel
William Proxmire
John Rarick
Bill Ryan
William Scherle
John Schmitz
Strom Thurmond

Angry Men and Ms.
Hot Tempers, Hot Tongues

Phil Crane
John Culver
Don Edwards
H. R. Gross
Julia Butler Hansen
Michael Harrington
Wayne Hays
Craig Hosmer
Lee Metcalf
Ed Muskie
Otto Passmore
John Pastore

Dandies and Dudes
Always in Fashion

Omar Burleson
Dan Flood
Ken Gray
Mark Hatfield
Abe Ribicoff
Fernand St Germain
James Symington
Stuart Symington

Worst Dressed
The Baggy Pants Brigade

John Culver
James Eastland
Fred Harris
Ken Hechler
Harold Hughes
Jim O'Hara

Best Staff
*They Make Mediocre Bosses Look Good
and Good Bosses Look Better*

Les Aspin
Jack Brooks
Emanuel Celler
John Dingell
Sam Ervin
Don Fraser
J. William Fulbright
Phil Hart
Fritz Hollings
Jacob Javits
Ted Kennedy
Abner Mikva
Hugh Scott
John Tunney
Morris Udall
Charles Vanik
Lester Wolf

Nodding Heads
Catnappers, Dozers, and Snorers

George Aiken
Clint Anderson
George Miller
John Sparkman

Grand Old Men
Best of the Senior Citizens

George Aiken
Sam Ervin
Wright Patman

Unknown Soldiers
Congressman Who??

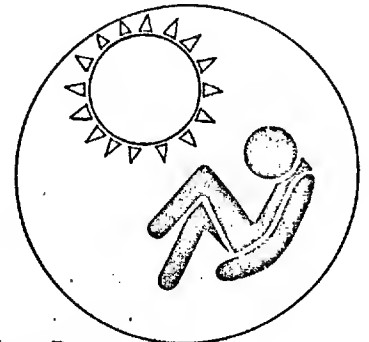
The other Boggs
Harold Donohue
David Gambrell
Tom Gettys
G. Elliott Hagan
Clifford Hansen
Albert Johnson
B. Everett Jordan
Arthur Link
Ray Madden
William Mailliard
Joseph Vigorito

No Shows
Someplace Else at Vote Time

Richard Bolling
Shirley Chisholm
Edward Garmatz
John Jarman

Fabulous Phonics
Capitol Hill Wizards of Oz

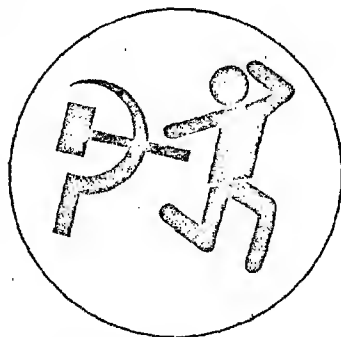
Marlow Cook
Everett Dirksen (R.I.P.)
Jacob Javits
Charles Percy
Margaret Chase Smith
Bob Wilson



Lazy Bones
Not Trying Hard Enough

Bill Clay
Norris Cotton
John Dent
Torbert Macdonald
Ralph Metcalf
Joseph Montoya
Morgan Murphy
Gaylord Nelson
John Tower

Howard Baker
Marlow Cook
Gerald Ford
Edith Green
Wayne Hays
Melvin Laird (Emeritus)
John Terry



**The Russians Are Coming,
The Russians Are Coming**
*They See the Whole World
Through Red-Colored Glasses*

James Allen
John Ashbrook
James Buckley
Phil Crane
Paul Fannin
Richard Ichord
John Schmitz
H. Allen Smith
Louis Wyman
Clem Zablocki

Oddballs
The Eccentrics

Most of the Louisiana Delegation

Likable Oddballs
The Friendly Eccentrics

Norris Cotton
Sam Ervin
Dan Flood
H. R. Gross
Tom Rees
John Rousselot

**My Door Is Always Open
To the Special Interests**

Wayne Aspinall
Henry Bellmon
Wallace Bennett
Earle Cabell
Carl Curtis
Hiram Fong
Gerald Ford
William Harsha
Chet Holifield
Craig Hosmer
Roman Hruska
John Kluczynski
Russell Long
John McClellan
John McMillan
George Miller
William Natcher
W. R. Poage
Dan Rostenkowski
Burt Talcott
Charles Teague
Harrison Williams
Bob Wilson

Masters of the Mimeograph
The Self-Publicity Mills

Les Aspin
Clifford Case
Alan Cranston
Mike Gravel
William Proxmire
Henry Reuss

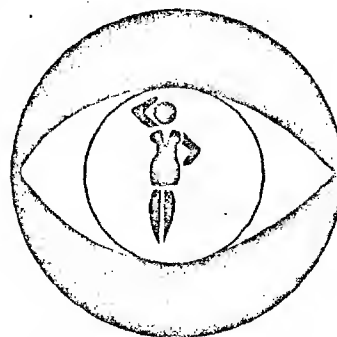
**People Not to Go to the Well With
Unless You Want to Carry All the Water**

Birch Bayh
Gerald Ford
Vance Hartke
Thomas McIntyre
Wilbur Mills
James Pearson
Charles Percy
Margaret Chase Smith
Robert Taft, Jr.
Al Ullman

Superegos
Ambitious Even by Congressional Standards

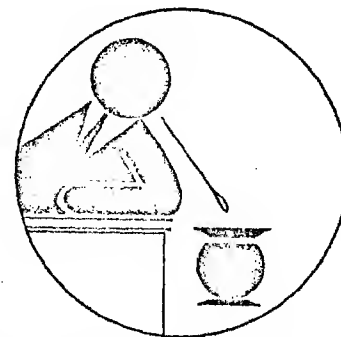
Richard Bolling
Mike Gravel
Jacob Javits
George McGovern
David Pryor
Abraham Ribicoff
John Tower

Carl Albert
F. Edward Hébert
Lyndon Johnson (Emeritus)
John Sparkman



Roving Eyes
With a Glean for the Ladies

Tom Ashley
Birch Bayh
Ray Blanton
Bob Dole
Andrew Jacobs
Hastings Keith
Ted Kennedy
Robert Packwood
Bill Stuckey
John Tower
John Tunney
Guy Vander Jagt
Joe Waggonner



Spittoon Platoon
Last Patrons of the Congressional Cuspidors

William Saxbe
Herman Talmadge

continued

Guts

The Brave Bulls

John Anderson
William Anderson
Richard Bolling
Jack Brooks
Phil Burton
Henry Gonzales
Edith Green
Ken Hechler
Charles McC. Mathias
Pete McCloskey
Walter Mondale
William Moorhead
John Moss
David Pryor

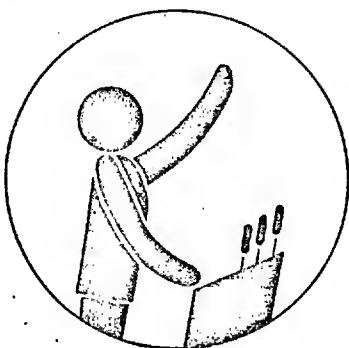
Softies

Noodles in the Clutch

John Sherman Cooper
Peter Frelinghuysen
B. Everett Jordan
Jack Miller
Mel Price
Roman Pucinski
Jennings Randolph
J. Irving Whalley

The Unprintable Expletives
Salty Talkers

Bella Abzug
Jack Brooks
Phil Burton
Julia Butler Hansen
Pete McCloskey
Frank Thompson



Golden Throats
The Orators

Frank Church
Everett Dirksen (R.I.P.)
Dan Flood
Harold Hughes
Hubert Humphrey
Russell Long
Gale McGee

Trumpet Throats

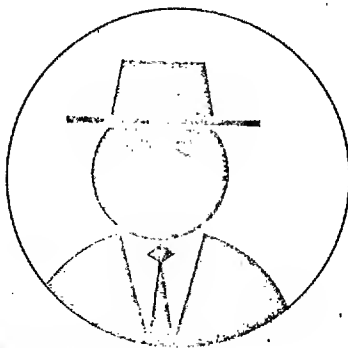
They Would Shake Jericho's Walls

Bob Dole
Mike Gravel
Wayne Hays
John Pastore

Jack Daniel's Safe Driving Award

But I Just Had One

Carl Albert
Peter Kyros
Jamie Whitten



Mean Customers

Mean, Mean Customers

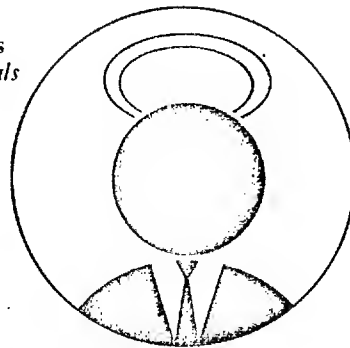
Joel Broyhill
Carl Curtis
Paul Fannin
Roman Hruska
John McClellan
John Rarick
John Rooney
William Scherle
William Scott

Slippery Fingers and Bulging Pockets
Caught Redhanded in Unsavory Deals

Emanuel Celler
James Collins
Bill Dickinson
John Dowdy
Gerald Ford
Vance Hartke
Roman Hruska
John McMillan
Joseph Montoya
John Rooney
John Sparkman
J. Irving Whalley

The Godfathers
Friends in the Mob

Cornelius Gallagher
Bob Giaimo



Good Guys

In a Place Where Good Guys Finish Last

George Aiken
Charles Bennett
John Sherman Cooper
Don Fraser
Fred Harris
Phil Hart
Charles McC. Mathias
Mike Mansfield
Gunn McKay
Frank Moss
Richardson Preyer
James Scheuer

Special Awards

Carl Curtis—*Curled Lip Award*
John Dowdy—*Hand in the Till Award*
James Eastland—*Sidney Greenstreet Fashion Award*
Barry Goldwater, Sr.—*Dr. Strangelove Award*
Seymour Halpern—*Deadbeat Award*
Roman Hruska—*Roman Hruska Mediocrity Award*
Hubert Humphrey—*Fastest Tongue in the West Award*
Wright Patman—*Horatio at the Bridge Award*
Claude Pepper—*Old Crusader Award*
John Tower—*Little Napoleon Award* □

4 SEP 1972

The Washington Merry-Go-Round**Peking and Moscow Si, Havana No****By Jack Anderson**

President Nixon has rejected suggestions that he follow up his trips to Peking and Moscow with an overture to Havana.

He has no intention of seeking better relations with Fidel Castro as long as Cuba exports revolution to other Latin-American countries and Russia is permitted to use Cuban territory for military purposes.

There have been conflicting signals from Havana whether Castro is really interested in improving relations with the United States. Secret messages have been received in Washington suggesting he is eager to restore normal relations. These have been followed, almost invariably, by public attacks upon the United States.

Last fall, for example, Castro got word that the United States might soften its attitude toward Cuba. He hastily, if cautiously, flashed back the signal that he not only was receptive but that he might even be willing to use "traditional democratic procedures" to spread "socialist power" in Latin America.

Castro's message was repeated in the right places at the United Nations by his diplomatic-intelligence representative, Teofilo Acosta Rodriguez. The word quickly reached the Central Intelligence Agency, which sent a secret report, dated Dec. 8, to the White House.

Secret Message

"In the latter part of November, 1971," reported the CIA, "Teofilo Acosta Rodriguez . . . said that Fidel Castro, Cuban prime minister, had received a report before his departure for Chile that U.S. officials were considering a reversal of the U.S. hard-line policy toward Cuba.

"As a result, Havana had requested Cubans at the United Nations to check the report. Meanwhile, Castro had decided to mellow his tone on the United States during his Chilean trip.

"Acosta commented that there is some support in Cuba for the view that Cuba could benefit from improved cultural ties with the U.S., or some realistic adjustment of differences . . .

"Later in the conversation, Acosta said that Cuban leaders are doing some re-thinking on basic revolutionary tactics. There is some theoretical opposition to the 'Che Guevara' theory, which favors supporting native insurrectionists and anarchists in poor countries.

"Instead, support is growing for the Chilean formula, which maintains that traditional democratic procedures are the best means of socialist power in weak, backward countries."

As it happened, Castro got his signals crossed. He was wrong about the possibility that the United States might soften its line toward Havana. The blunt truth is that President Nixon isn't the least interested in an accommodation with Castro.

Those who watch Havana for the U.S. are convinced that Castro would jump at a genuine chance to normalize Cuban-American relations. He would like nothing better, they say, than to sit down as an equal with Mr. Nixon.

Castro's slashing attacks upon the U.S., they believe, are strictly defensive. He tries to appear intractable toward the United States, they say, because he is convinced the United States is intractable to-

ward him. He is particularly harsh upon Mr. Nixon, whose name is spelled in the party newspaper with a swastika in place of the "x."

These experts also believe Mr. Nixon has been influenced by his Cuban friends, such as Bebe Rebozo, to maintain a hard line toward Castro. The anti-Castro Cubans, who now live and vote in this country, are almost solidly behind Nixon.

Nixon's Cuban Policy

A White House aide assured us, however, that Mr. Nixon doesn't listen to Rebozo on Cuban policy. The aide said the President based his hard line on three factors:

1. U.S. policy toward Cuba isn't unilateral, but multilateral. The Organization of American States voted in 1962 to break diplomatic and commercial ties with Cuba. Until this is reversed, the U.S. will be bound by the OAS vote.

2. Russia uses Cuba as a base to refuel its submarines and for other military purposes. The argument has been made that this violates the Monroe Doctrine. Moscow also gives Cuba an estimated \$250 million a year in military aid, not to mention twice that amount in economic aid.

3. Cuba continues to provide arms, money and guerrilla

training to revolutionary movements throughout Latin America. There is evidence that Russia supports Cuba in spreading subversion.

In another secret report to the White House, for example, the CIA quoted a confidential source as revealing "that the Soviets asked Fidel Castro to try to regain control of Latin American revolutionary movements and to develop closer relations with Latin American communist parties and their leaders . . ."

The source quoted a Cuban intelligence officer, Enrique Benavides, as saying "that Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin had promised to provide financial aid to Castro's efforts to regain control over these movements . . ."

"Benavides said that through Cuba the Soviets will support armed revolution or political struggle, whichever was deemed appropriate, in given countries throughout Latin America. According to Benavides, the Soviets have told Cuba they will 'pay for everything' in helping all revolutionary groups, even Catholic radical groups.

"Benavides strongly emphasized that Cuba has not changed its line but still favors armed revolution everywhere in Latin America."

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